137 241 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded 193 312 226 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

487 The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

114 133 To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the north, from Porto Salvação to Tampúitána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on [137] flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scattering of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré, [103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract [136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and [136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The [132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest. The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer, until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

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175 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedition] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meeting, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. According to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expeditions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition, recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the
175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is, the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found
[439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats, all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They
[648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days' journey away, on another arm of the same Parú River, lived those whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:105] Camaíma, that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and
175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in-
648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Manajé of the Araranduba River studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2).

[98:109] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
50/ Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yana in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampiitáua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Caatinga, a Tupí word consisting of caá, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time
[197] by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called catingas or matos sêcos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuyrapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Alrosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (ibid. [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
● 114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêr" of Benno Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants of Tampiitsua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneé, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitsua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneé and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possible that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní." Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

114 174 Kisenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the assumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Kateté and Tapirapé. As the Mẽkubenokré-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubẽnépre (meaning 'Bat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[178] [98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Mattos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch [648] of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

114 173 174 After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company, Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939): "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

114 the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
144 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitáua knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananá-chingehó or chinghó. It is possible

175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Numierous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé. 113 I have already mentioned what Silva e Sousa said in 1812, 175 Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Cazal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alencastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

Concerning two maps of the period, Kissenberth writes (2, 175 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F. Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians Tapirapeques north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Brué's 1826 map also mentions Tapirapeques north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

On Table 28 of Balbi's Atlas ethnographique [Ethnographic 114 Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues 174 de la région Guarani-Brésileinne [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques [spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown 174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Língua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Cazal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored "except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

175 The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in [648] 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria [Memoir] written by Silva e Sousa in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tributary of the Araguaia)." [114] Since Martius gives no reason for classifying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.

175 726 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

175 648 Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405): "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokrẽ-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikrẽ, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Woudó; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadó village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwanã of Dozahãkã village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

● 114 175 648 A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention. According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

1: Baldus--24 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

[115]
[114]
[649] towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful. I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará led by their countryman Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampiitáua, the Indian Kamairahó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angione Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the
[113] Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

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175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13] On October 9, 1918, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 [648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of 797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

175 of the tribe at Lake Tucunaré or some other location not too far
797 from the river. They remain with the Tapirapé for one or several days, distributing axes, bush knives, knives, scissors, tobacco, and other gifts, and fulfilling their religious duties.

Aside from them, missionaries of other creeds have attempted
114 and are still attempting to save the souls of the Tampiitíua in-
175 habitants. In 1923, the Baptist minister Benedito Propheta had
797 some slight contact with these Indians, but did not reach their village. What little he has to say about them in his book, with great verbosity, is too confused and erroneous to be of scientific value.

In August, 1930, the British missionary, Josiah Wilding, of the Evangelical Union of South America, accompanied by the North American traveler Miss Elizabeth Steen, paid a brief visit to Tampiitíua. In the following year, North American Adventists spent one night in the village. In 1932, the British expedition in search of the vanished Colonel Fawcett, which is described so enjoyably in Peter Fleming's book, met the Tapirapé at the port of São Domingos. This was a slight contact of the kind these Indians also had with a group of prospectors, hunters, and an official of the Indian Service. The movie-making group from São Paulo referred to in Pompílio's notes (301-304) spent one night with them in August, 1934, at Lake Tucunaré and did not push on to Tampiitíua. At the end of August, 1935, Madame Rayliane de la Falaise and her husband spent two days in that village. The statements made about the Tapirapé by this charming and elegant writer are, for the most part, sheer fantasy.

The first White since the expedition of Mr. Alfredo, that
797 is, since 1911, to live with the Tapirapé, not just for one or sev-
175 eral days but for weeks and months on end, was the British missionary F.C. Kegel of the Evangelical Union of South America, which is established at Macauba on Bananal Island. He stayed with them in August, September, and October of 1932, from July to November of 1933, from August to November of 1934, and from June to August of 1935. We spent this last period there together, he and I.

114 [99:75] The North American ethnographer, Dr. Charles
175 Wagley, stayed with these Indians from April to October, 1939,

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.
115 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

177 Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in-
197 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial.
[164] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

177 If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

177 From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually
797 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

164 The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced largely by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of [178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

177 The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people [821] knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost [731] nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [726] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

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177 of the Tampiitsua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

Chapter 4

[100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuf, that is, jacuf [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, [114] 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

[71] Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetö and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetö and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hüvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became apparent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

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142 outnumber their Indian ones. My meaning will be understood by looking, for example, at Iravuy (Photo. 62). There are Tapirapé with thin lips, there are others who show hardly any Mongoloid features, and there are some with light skins. We gave the girl Eirovytyngaho (Photo. 67) the name "Tsrí" owing to her lack of pigmentation, for this is the name given to us, the Whites, by the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of p. 80 and the first half of p. 81 are omitted.]

[105:81] The difference between the Tapirapé and the Karajá, so clearly evident in terms of nature, is not apparent in the hair, which in both tribes, in contrast to the usually straight Indian hair, is sometimes slightly curly and often somewhat wavy (see Kamairá, Photo. 57, and the group, Photo. 28). This is most apparent when the hair is tousled, or when it is long and loose (cf. Photo. 2). [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any white hair among the Tapirapé. It is, as a rule, unusual among Indians and appears only at a very advanced age. I did not find any bald heads either among the Tapirapé or among any of the other South American tribes I visited. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Even bald spots seem to be unknown among the Tapirapé, if we may deduce this from the admiration they showed for the incipient baldness on my head, which they tactfully referred to as "small hair."

●14 147 F. Krause (2, 185) says of the Karajá: "The Indians have a characteristic body odor. It is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It is hard to say, however, to what extent it is due to the oil [105:82] turning rancid on their skin and hair." Concerning this, I must say that in spite of my excellent sense of smell, I was never able to discern among the numerous Indian tribes I visited any characteristic racial odor such as the one I noticed, for example, in many African Negroes (but not all), that stench which Brazilians call catinga and which is reminiscent of rancid soap. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[142] 826 Some Tapirapé, indeed, have a rather light skin. In this respect, however, most of them do not attain their own ideal of beauty, which is white, as white as the habitually covered skin of northern Europeans. The women never tired of feeling my arms when I pushed up my sleeves. They expressed in this fashion their

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

261
826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaś. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[443] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only.
[88] They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
●114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitáua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, chainiśua. It is a triangular gourd fragment
[192]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation.
They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and
women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole
ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes
characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy
for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differen-
tiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the
incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[297] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in
a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[304] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide
a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here
(Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created
by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is
also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another
rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
●114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and
a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth."
As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I ob-
served. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262),
although they disagree with the description above by the same author
in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the
lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizon-
tal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women.
[Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include
several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the
last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
304 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
171 tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which
are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken
into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

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302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kanuana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9). [531] [881] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining material, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends. [462]

As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

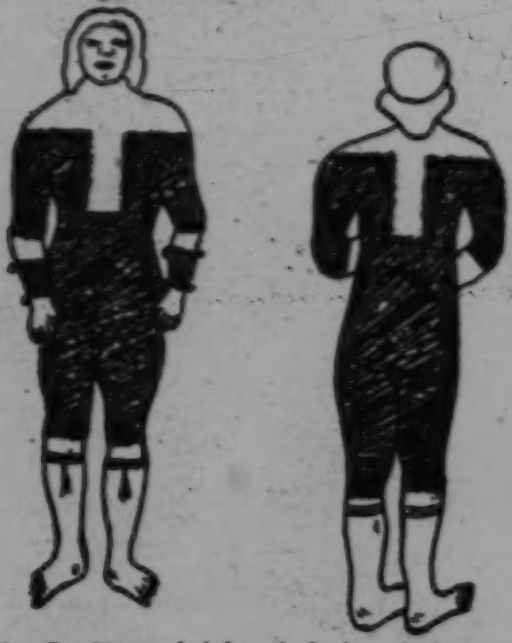

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

114 302 751 There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

114 302 751 [191] urucú "markings" are often applied, are one of the body parts most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome insects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Souza (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

302 789 [114] The supposition that body painting originally had a magical purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time, would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topĩ). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topĩ), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topĩ, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topĩ and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast." He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitína, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iũnwera. Urukumú picked up the ankungitína. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[238] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
[821] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
● 114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitãua

285 belonged to the headdress called angkyngbetanobó, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitána by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and
a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti
palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or
four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends
[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung
on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of
vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular
position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In
the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded
ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each
other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27
centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied
with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping.
At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the
[283] strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made
up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie
parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark
brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to
nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length
from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the
entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held
by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters
apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the
folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the
[774] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchinga, that is to say,
"shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The
periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total
width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings
divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two
pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that
these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common
entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of
both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same
two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each
other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An
irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between
two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

292 Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
881 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
237 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask
171- (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
532 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French]..

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
[372] village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
515 a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[224] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the village plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamaiahó. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrangement of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matrilocal. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

114 591 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother(the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omited.]

171 361 • [111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that

171 342 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like hose of the Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated done (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house

171 345 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[109] 171 513 [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinambá and with the Tupi family as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapinpé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos

114 171 513 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270; Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

114 171 513 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 516 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

352 513 841 The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture. Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekantú, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

231 The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

171 513 352 In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors. The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 171 352 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural

trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetõ, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tassels [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixú (Krause, ibid.), the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of the Auetõ and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apũkáp in Von den Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apũka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

171 As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
352 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
554 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
562 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

171 411 [112:56] In Meyer's classification (3, 9, 33), the feathering of the Tapirapé arrow belongs to the "eastern Brazilian or Gê-Tupi" type, and it is clearly distinct from the "sewn feathering of the Xingu" in which two half feathers are sewn to the shaft (ibid., Plate 1, Fig. 9). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

114 171 411 524 Krause (2, 273-274 and Fig. 127) describes the spear thrower (aubí, obirú) of the Karajá as a sporting weapon used in a game called anarkánted-uohú, that is, "game of the Tapirapé," and says he was told by those Araguaia Indians that both spear thrower and game also exist in this Tupi tribe. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] Among the Tapirapé, I did not see or hear anything about this weapon or about the game referred to by Krause.

114 171 411 This author (2, Fig. 265) presents as a Tapirapé club a weapon that he acquired in a Karajá village located near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, which resembles the rounded club (gohordé) of the Karajá not only in shape but also in the grooves on its rear section and handle (cf. ibid., Fig. 123). Regarding the Karajá, Krause (ibid., 271) notes: "Nowhere did I see smooth clubs like those brought by Ehrenreich." The Javahé club is grooved on the rear section and handle (ibid., 361 and Fig. 196), like that of the Karajá, while most of the rounded Kayapó clubs are entirely covered with these grooves (ibid., 390 and Fig. 245). It is worth noting, however, that these northern neighbors of the Tapirapé also have flat clubs (ibid., Fig. 246).

171 411 All the Tapirapé clubs I saw (yvyrá, "stick," the generic term for "wood") had the shape of the above-mentioned rounded clubs possessed by their neighbors, but they were not grooved in any way, and they were usually smaller than those of the Karajá. According to Ehrenreich (1, 19), Karajá clubs are from 95 to 137 centimeters long, and one of these weapons in my own private collection measures 111 centimeters, while its maximum circumference is 20 centimeters and the minimum one ten centimeters. In other words, it has average measurements. The Tapirapé club (Photo. 29), however, which is also average in size, is 90 centimeters long, 17 centimeters at its maximum circumference, and eight centimeters at the minimum one. As we can see in the photograph, it has the shape of a cudgel, being thicker at the hitting end. The ring between the handle and the body is three centimeters wide and 11 centimeters [112:57] in circumference on this Tapirapé club, and

171 411 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

411 [726] [578] In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of 411 535 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only exceptionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Furthermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors [721] stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of 411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and [137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another [683] specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

114 411 [439] [171] The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina, "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find the terms ibirá-haquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the [535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-mentioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí) 171 411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekiá-
[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
171 confess that I never saw the chekiá-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Karajá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
• 114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampiitaua stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass
the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
191 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes
(cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den
Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not
from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have
canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described
by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by
Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,'
and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is
not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for
navigation.

787 As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
776 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
226 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí
was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an
abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62]
which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to cer-
tain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them.
All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[182] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fish-
ing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the
fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men
did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions.
When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny
fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the
ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated
[in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish].
[Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of sub-
sistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing
tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described.
The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of
those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators
par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

262 824 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yellow both inside and out as indicated by its name, tatanchova. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) Tatakyra is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the banana ouro (regia variety of the sapientum subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

[171] The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

114 171 824 [114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5, 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (ibid., 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling chatá or tatá.

262 824 It is worth noting that the paankuá of the Tapirapé also plays a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana" supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call ampí, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa Gomes, mangaua in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

252 262 824 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 263 ●114 [177] [171] Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plantation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any. The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

252 262 These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language), sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as already mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampf, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.

171 252 262 192

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171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitáua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí. [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with carí or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[114] [115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[252] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds, peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Souza (235)

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monovĩ-
272 kauĩ was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monovĩ-kauĩ." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruĩ-kauĩ. Kuruĩ may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauĩ are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykú
[192] means "I chew," and andjahík, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauĩ, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[853] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauĩ. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

According to Francisco S.G. Schaden (30), the fathers in this locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not permitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother's milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotof." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like douto]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotof?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotof is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotof because he was the son of the Dotof from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotof II with that of the other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

855 [1764] respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer 853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de [114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers [171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's [171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with 513 their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in '935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl's mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed 301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make 854 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233] and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his [422] neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect 854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

TAPIRAPÉ SHAMANISM

Charles Wagley
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The present article is part of a more extensive study on Tapirapé life now in preparation. The material was collected during two periods of residence in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitawa, the first from May to September 1939, and the second from November 1939, to May 1940. The field work among the Tapirapé was made possible by a grant from the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and was carried on under the direction of Dr. Ralph Linton of the Columbia University Department of Anthropology. In Brazil, the expeditions to the Tapirapé were made under the auspices of the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. The ethnographical collections gathered during both trips were added to the rich material on Brazilian Indian life belonging to that institution. I wish to thank the Director and the staff of the Museu Nacional for the many facilities and full cooperation which made possible both expeditions.

During the month of April 1940, while in the Tapirapé village, I was joined by two students from Museu Nacional. This month was spent in training these men in field techniques for the collecting of ethnographical material. This was the beginning of a training program in ethnographical field methods, which proceeded through 1941 and 1942. On a grant from the Committee for Inter-American Intellectual and Artistic Relations, I returned to Brazil to work at the Museu Nacional, in July 1941, for this purpose. At the Museu I gave a three

a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirá* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirá* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtãpawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (*op. cit.* pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirá* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial societies. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three *wirá* groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirá* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age groupings of men's ceremonial societies as described above. [314]

(3) Baldus (*op. cit.*, p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the *tãtãpawã* "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 99 of his work already cited.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

756 789 alone in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 622 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "capitão". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

627 559 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čiríkakántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čiríkakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

616 562 (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čiríkakántu* are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two acute "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

(314) (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (*op. cit.*, page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čiríkakántu* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *anté ãwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amonikã ãwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *ciriikakãntu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *anciinga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman *is* but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 558 622 756 775 [773]

were the ones who generally produced *ciriikakãntu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal", carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his with, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantomanu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [114]

(25) The communal importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pawé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

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Plate 28

1. First tree obstacle in the Tapirapé River.

2. Conquering the waterfall in the Tapirapé River.

3. "Smooth" channel in the upper course of the Tapirapé River.

4. My men on the march to the villages of the Tapirapé.

/Plate 28 faces p. 120./

5: Krause--17 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá
Tapirapé SP99

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[114]

1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

T
[101]

but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Savajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

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The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

T 175 /403 cont./
114 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/ Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p. 186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the river, five days above the mouth; there is another village of Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too, back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.

C 115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that I obtained from the Karajá was the following:

T 13 [101] The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ūŏhŭ) live six to nine days' journey in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, according to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their villages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves. Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back. The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá. Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black. They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers. They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black center stripe.

T 105

C [829]

C T [439]

/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hõõlã; urucú, kãã; tobacco, bãdumã.

114 [131] 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

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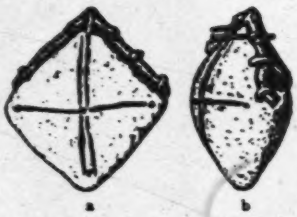

Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[226] [252] The traces that I came across were the following: on the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.

[See pp. 330-339 -- Analyst]

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later [487] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large [361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages [312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I 133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north- [361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from [142] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller 361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to [342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest [133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks 221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the [437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As [222] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

821 emekuantxĭampanĭ, a word that refers to the thin, long tembetá
142 [Tr., lip plug] of the boys. To other stages of [91] visibility they gave the names itaxavãhaũpíri, eviyik, and akaemerút, three terms whose meaning I was unable to determine and which must therefore be disregarded until further elucidated.

805 It became apparent that the Tapirapé are not in the habit of
192 reckoning time in terms of lunar months when I attempted to find out the duration they attribute to the span of time corresponding roughly to our year. They distinguished the following three periods: amĭna, "rain," the rainy season; amĭna akĭpaák, the end of the rainy season; and amĭna apám, "rain sleeps," the dry season. They attributed, still with some certainty, about five txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," to the first period, while their computations for the second period varied from one to five, and those for the "sleep of the rain" from three to eight. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

[171] Although they are not unfamiliar with the continuous alternation of day and night, the Brazilian Indians, to my knowledge, do not have words covering those two phases as a unit. The Tapirapé word ána merely designates the day from sunrise to sundown in contrast to the darkness of the night, and corresponds to ára in the above-cited Tupí dictionaries. For "night" the Tapirapé have the terms kanók (or kanúk), ĭpĭtún (or ĭpĭtúnã), and txãhi eni (or txãhi ãni), the first one designating nightfall or early evening, the second a dark, moon less [92] night, and the third a moonlit night or moonlight. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

It is not surprising that the concept of "midnight" is lacking among clockless people like the Tapirapé [Ed., the remainder of
114 the sentence is omitted]. The Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica
192 [Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Brazilian Language] lists the word
805 pigcarê with the translation, "the whole night, or throughout the night." I did not hear any similar term in Tapirapé, not even a word similar to pĭhá, another term for "night" listed by Montoya.

The Tapirapé word kaém, "daybreak," corresponds to coé in Montoya, coéma in the "Dicionário Brasiliano [Aboriginal Brazilian Dictionary]," coamutu in the Vocabulário na Lingua Brasílica, and coéma in Stradelli.

For "midday" the Tapirapé said atxavũapít. Montoya lists açayé, and the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, açajê. In Stradelli, the word "middle" is pytera.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since in several known cases "abnormal" children have been allowed to live, infanticide has had little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends. The Tenetehara tell of one or two formulas thought to produce abortion. The long taboos imposed on both parents during the pregnancy of the mother and during the early infancy of the child are a source of irritation and discomfort which would seem to tend to discourage large families. But, in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile.

In contrast, the Tapirapé value small families. They take specific steps to limit their families and have explicit ideas as to maximum family size. Not only do the Tapirapé bury twins at birth as do the Tenetehara (and for similar reasons) but they believe that a woman should not have more than three live children. (5) In addition, the three children of a woman should not be of the same sex. In other words, if a woman has two living daughters and her third child is also a girl, it is usually buried at birth. Similarly, if she has two male children and her third is a male, infanticide is in order. Furthermore, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers to her child. More than two co-fathers leads to complications. All co-fathers are expected to observe taboos on sexual relations and on the eating of certain meats during the pregnancy of the woman and the early infancy of the child. If there are three, four, or more co-fathers one of them is certain to break these taboos thus endangering the health of the infant; consequently the woman is urged to bury the child. (6)

On an overt level, the Tapirapé justify these checks on population by saying, "We do not want thin children" or "They would be hungry". They enlarge upon such statements by adding that it is difficult for a father to supply a large family with meat from hunting. In aboriginal times, manioc was plentiful and no one lacked the tubers with which to manufacture flour but meat was especially scarce during the rainy season when the forest is partially flooded and the paths to the savanna country are impassable. In addition, a complex set of food taboos make the job of supplying meat for a family more difficult. Children before adolescence are allowed to eat only specific meats and women are prohibited others. When a Tapirapé says "I am hungry" he generally means by implication:

(5) Baldus (1948) vol. CXXIII, p. 55, was told the same regarding the limitation of number of children of the Tapirapé family, but the contrary in relation to twins. According to information given to him by these Indians, the Tapirapé appreciate twins and, therefore, husband and wife eat twin or double bananas, i. e., with two fruits in the same peel.

(6) Genealogies indicated that these rules are adhered to almost without exception. In 1939, during my residence in a Tapirapé village, one woman hesitated in allowing her third male child to be buried. Less than a month after its birth, she appeared one day without the infant and announced that he had died of a cold. Another woman whose child had four fathers allowed the child to live only to have it die of an intestinal disorder. The villagers took a definite el - told - you - so attitude.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [554] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [621] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

● 114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world.. 177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was of[illegible]rowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the [illegible]stematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I [illegible]ght go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping [illegible]n cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was [illegible]le to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

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● 114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [574] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [703] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

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To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of